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By LUTHER PRATT.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to ourſelves and our poſterity, do ordain and eſtabliſh this Conſtitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I.

SECT. 1. ALL legiſlative powers herein granted ſhall be veſted in a Congreſs of the United States, which ſhall conſiſt of a Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives.

SECT. 2. The Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall conſiſt of members choſen every ſecond year by the people of the ſeveral States, and the Electors in each State ſhall have the qualifications requiſite for Electors of the moſt numerous branch of the State Legiſlature.

No perſon ſhall be a Repreſentative who ſhall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been ſeven years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he ſhall be choſen.

Repreſentatives and direct taxes ſhall be apportioned among the ſeveral States, which may be included within this Union, according to their reſpective numbers, which ſhall be determined by adding to the whole number of free perſons, including thoſe bound to ſerve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other perſons. The actual enumeration ſhall be made within three years after the firſt meeting of the Congreſs of the United States, and within every ſubſequent term of ten years, in ſuch manner as they ſhall by law direct. The number of Repreſentatives ſhall not exceed one for every thirty thouſand, but each State ſhall have at leaſt one Repreſentative; and, until ſuch enumeration ſhall be made, the State of *New-Hampſhire* ſhall be

entitled to chooſe three, *Maſſachuſetts*, eight, *Rhode-Iſland* and *Providence* Plantations one, *Connecticut* five, *New-York* ſix, *New-Jerſey* four, *Pennſylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* ſix, *Virginia* ten, *North-Carolina* five, *South-Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the repreſentation from any State, the executive authority thereof ſhall iſſue writs of election to fill ſuch vacancies.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall chooſe their Speaker and other officers; and ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

SECT. 3. The Senate of the United States ſhall be compoſed of two Senators from each State, choſen by the Legiſlature thereof, for ſix years; and each Senator ſhall have one vote.

Immediately after they ſhall be aſſembled in conſequence of the firſt election, they ſhall be divided as equally as may be into three claſſes. The ſeats of the Senators of the firſt claſs ſhall be vacated at the expiration of the ſecond year, of the ſecond claſs at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third claſs at expiration of the ſixth year ſo that one third may be choſen every ſecond year; and if vacancies happen by reſignation, or otherwiſe, during the receſs of the Legiſlature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legiſlature, which ſhall then fill ſuch vacancies.

No perſon ſhall be a Senator who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he ſhall be choſen.

The Vice Preſident of the United States ſhall be Preſident of the Senate, but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The Senate ſhall chooſe their other officers, and alſo a Preſident pro-tempore, in the abſence of the Vice-Preſident, or when he ſhall exerciſe the office of Preſident of the United States.

The Senate ſhall have the ſole power to try all impeachments. When ſitting for that purpoſe, they ſhall be on oath or affirmation. When the Preſident of the United States is tried, the Chief Juſtice ſhall preſide: And no perſon ſhall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members preſent.

Judgment in caſes of impeachment ſhall not extend further than to removal from office, and diſqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, truſt or profit under the United States; but the party convicted ſhall nevertheleſs be liable and ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment, and puniſhment, according to law.

SECT. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each State by the Legiſlature thereof; but the Congreſs may, at any time, by law, make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the places of chooſing Senators.

The Congreſs ſhall aſſemble at leaſt once in every year; and ſuch meeting ſhall be on the firſt Monday in December, unleſs they ſhall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. 5. Each Houſe ſhall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs: but a ſmaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authoriſed to compel the attendance of abſent members, in ſuch manner and under ſuch penalties as each Houſe may provide.

Each Houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings; puniſh its members for diſorderly behaviour; and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each Houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings; and, from time to time, publiſh the ſame, excepting ſuch parts as may, in their judgement, require ſecrecy: and the yeas and nays, of the members of either Houſe, on any queſtion, ſhall, at the deſire of one fifth of thoſe preſent, be entered on the journal.

Neither Houſe, during the ſeſſion of Congreſs, ſhall, without the conſent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houſes ſhall be ſitting.

SECT. 6. The Senators and Repreſentatives ſhall receive a compenſation for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law, and paid out of the treaſury of the United States. They ſhall, in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt, during their attendance at the ſeſſion of their reſpective houſes, and in going to, and returning from the ſame: and for any ſpeech or debate in either Houſe, they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

No Senator or Repreſentative ſhall during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the United States, which ſhall have been created, or the emoluments of which ſhall have been increaſed, during ſuch time: and no perſon holding any office under the United States, ſhall be a member of either Houſe, during his continuance in office.

SECT. 7. All bills, for raiſing revenue, ſhall originate in the Houſe of Repreſentatives: but the Senate ſhall propoſe or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill, which ſhall have paſſed the Houſe of Repreſentatives and the Senate, ſhall, before it become a law, be preſented to the Preſident of the United States. If he approve, he ſhall ſign it: but if not, he ſhall return it, with his objections, to that Houſe in which it ſhall have originated, who ſhall enter their objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-conſider it. If, after ſuch re-conſideration, two thirds of that Houſe ſhall agree to paſs the bill, it ſhall be ſent, together with the objections, to the other Houſe, by which it ſhall likewiſe be re-conſidered: and if approv-

ed by two thirds of that houſe it ſhall become a law. But, in all ſuch caſes, the votes of both houſes ſhall be determined by yeas and nays: and the names of the perſons voting for and againſt the bill ſhall be entered on the journal of each Houſe reſpectively. If any bill ſhall not be returned by the Preſident, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it ſhall have been preſented to him, the ſame ſhall be a law, in like manner as if he had ſigned it, unleſs the Congreſs, by their adjournment, prevent its return: in which caſe it ſhall not be a law.

Every order, reſolution, or vote, to which the concurence of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives may be neceſſary (except on a queſtion of adjournment) ſhall be preſented to the Preſident of the United States; and, before the ſame ſhall take effect, be approved by him; or, being diſapproved by him, ſhall be repaſſed by two thirds of both Houſes according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

SECT. 8. The Congreſs ſhall have power,

To lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts and exciſes, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, impoſts and exciſes, ſhall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the ſeveral ſtates, and with the Indian tribes:

To eſtabliſh an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the ſubject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures:

To provide for the puniſhment of counterfeiting the ſecurities and current coin of the United States:

To eſtabliſh poſt offices and poſt roads:

To promote the progreſs of ſcience and uſeful arts, by ſecuring for limited times, to authors and inventors, the excluſive right to their reſpective writings and diſcoveries:

To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the ſupreme court:

To define and puniſh piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and offences againſt the law of nations:

To declare war, grant letters of marque and repriſal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

To raiſe and ſupport armies; but no appropriation of money to that uſe ſhall be for a longer term than two years:

To provide and maintain a navy:

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, ſuppreſs inſurrections and repel invaſions:

To provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, and for governing ſuch part of them as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States, reſerving to the ſtates reſpectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the diſcipline preſcribed by Congreſs.

To exerciſe excluſive legiſlation in all caſes whatſoever, over ſuch diſtrict (not exceeding ten miles ſquare) as may by ceſſion of particular ſtates, and the acceptance of Congreſs, become the ſeat of the government of the United States, and to exerciſe like authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlature of the ſtate in which the ſame ſhall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—And to make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this Conſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. 9. The migration or importation of ſuch perſons as any of the ſtates now exiſting ſhall think proper to admit, ſhall not be prohibited by the Congreſs prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be impoſed on ſuch importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each perſon.

The priviledge of the writ of *habeus corpus* ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs when in caſes of rebellion or invaſion the public ſafety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex poſt facto* law ſhall be paſſed.

No capitation, or other direct tax ſhall be laid, unleſs in proportion to the *cenſus* or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty ſhall be laid on articles exported from any ſtate. No preference ſhall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one ſtate over thoſe of another: Nor ſhall veſſels bound to, or from one ſtate, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury, but in conſequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time.

No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United States: and no perſon holding any office of profit or truſt under them, ſhall, without the conſent of the Congreſs accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign ſtate.

SECT. 10. No ſtate ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and repriſal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts; paſs any bill of attainder, *ex poſt facto*

law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of the Congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impoſts, laid by any ſtate on imports or exports, ſhall be for the uſe of the treaſury of the United States; and all ſuch laws ſhall be ſubject to the reviſion and control of the Congreſs. No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of Congreſs, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ſhips of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another ſtate, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unleſs actually invaded, or in ſuch imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. 1. The executive power ſhall be veſted in a Preſident of the United States of America. He ſhall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-Preſident, choſen for the ſame term, be elected as follows:

Each ſtate ſhall appoint, in ſuch manner as the legiſlature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Repreſentatives to which the ſtate may be entitled in the Congreſs; but no Senator or Repreſentative, or perſon holding an office of truſt or profit under the United States, ſhall be appointed an elector.

The electors ſhall meet in their reſpective ſtates, and vote by ballot for two perſons, of whom one at leaſt ſhall not be an inhabitant of the ſame ſtate with themſelves. And they ſhall make a liſt of all the perſons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which liſt they ſhall ſign and certify, and tranſmit, ſealed, to the ſeat of the government of the United States, directed to the Preſident of the Senate. The Preſident of the Senate ſhall, in the preſence of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives, open all the certificates, and the votes ſhall then be counted. The perſon having the greateſt number of votes ſhall be the Preſident, if ſuch number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have ſuch majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall immediately chuſe by ballot one of them for Preſident; and if no perſon have a majority, then from the five higheſt on the liſt the ſaid Houſe ſhall in like manner chuſe the Preſident. But in chuſing the Preſident, the votes ſhall be taken by ſtates, the repreſentation from each ſtate having one vote; a quorum for this purpoſe ſhall conſiſt of a member or members from two thirds of the ſtates, and a majority of all the ſtates ſhall be neceſſary to a choice. In every caſe, after the choice of the Preſident, the perſon having

the greateſt number of votes of the electors, ſhall be the Vice-Preſident. But if there ſhould remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate ſhall chuſe from them by ballot the Vice-Preſident.

The Congreſs may determine the time of chuſing the electors, and the day on which they ſhall give their votes; which ſhall be the ſame throughout the United States.

No perſon except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Conſtitution, ſhall be eligible to the office of Preſident; neither ſhall any perſon be eligible to that office, who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty five years, and been fourteen years a reſident within the United States.

In caſe of the removal of the Preſident from office, or of his death, reſignation, or inability to diſcharge the powers and duties of the ſaid office, the ſame ſhall devolve on the Vice-Preſident; and the Congreſs may by law provide for the caſe of removal, death, reſignation, or inability, both of the Preſident and Vice-Preſident, declaring what officer ſhall then act as Preſident; and ſuch officer ſhall act accordingly, until the diſability be removed, or a Preſident ſhall be elected.

The Preſident ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for his ſervices a compenſation, which ſhall neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed during the period for which he ſhall have been elected; and he ſhall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he ſhall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do ſolemnly ſwear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of Preſident of the United States; and will, to the beſt of my ability, preſerve, protect and defend the Conſtitution of the United States."

SECT. 2. The Preſident ſhall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the ſeveral ſtates, when called into the actual ſervice of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective offices, and he ſhall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United States, except in caſes of impeachment.

He ſhall have power, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators preſent concur; and he ſhall nominate, and by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate, ſhall appoint ambaſſadors, or other public miniſters and conſuls, judges of the ſupreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whoſe appointments are not

herein otherwiſe provided for, and which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by law. But the Congreſs may by law veſt the appointment of ſuch inferior officers, as they think proper, in the Preſident alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The Preſident ſhall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the receſs of the Senate, by granting commiſſions which ſhall expire at the end of their next ſeſſion.

SECT. 3. He ſhall from time to time give to the Congreſs information of the ſtate of the Union, and recommend to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient: He may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene both Houſes, or either of them; and in caſe of diſagreement between them, with reſpect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to ſuch time as he ſhall think proper: He ſhall receive ambaſſadors and other public miniſters: He ſhall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and ſhall commiſſion all the officers of the United States.

SECT. 4. The Preſident, Vice-Preſident, and all civil officers of the United States, ſhall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treaſon, bribery, or other high crimes and miſdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. 1. The judicial power of the United States ſhall be veſted in one ſupreme court, and in ſuch inferior courts, as the Congreſs may, from time to time, ordain and eſtabliſh. The Judges, both of the ſupreme and inferior courts ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour; and ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for their ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall not be diminiſhed during their continuance in office.

SECT. 2. The judicial power ſhall extend to all caſes, in law and equity, ariſing under this Conſtitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under their authority; to all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls; to all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction; to controverſies to which the United States ſhall be a party; to controverſies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the ſame State, claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or ſubjects.

In all caſes, affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, and thoſe in which State ſhall be a party, the ſupreme court ſhall have original juriſdiction. In all the other caſes before mentioned, the ſupreme court ſhall have appeilate juriſdiction, both as to law and fact, with ſuch exceptions, and under ſuch regulations, as the Congreſs ſhall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in caſes of impeachment, ſhall be by jury; and ſuch trial ſhall be held in the State where the ſaid crimes ſhall havé been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial ſhall be at ſuch place or places, as the Congreſs may by law have directed.

SECT. 3. Treaſon againſt the United States, ſhall conſiſt only in levyihg war againſt them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No perſon ſhall be convicted of treaſon unleſs on the teſtimony of two witneſſes to the ſame overt act, or on confeſſion in open court.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to declare the puniſhment of treaſon: but no attainder of treaſon ſhall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the perſon attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECT. 1. Full faith and credit ſhall be given, in each State, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congreſs may, by penal laws, preſcribe the manner in which ſuch acts, records and proceeding ſhall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. 2. The citizens of each State ſhall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the ſeveral States.

A perſon charged in any State with treaſon, felony, or other crime, who ſhall flee from juſtice, and be found in another State, ſhall, on demand of the executive authority of the ſtate from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the ſtate having juriſdiction of the crime.

No perſon, held to ſervice or labour in one ſtate, under the laws thereof, eſcaped into another, ſhall, in conſequence of any law or regulation therein, be diſcharged from ſuch ſervice or labour; but ſhall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom ſuch ſervice or labour may be due.

SECT. 3. New ſtates may he admitted by the Congreſs into this union: but no new ſtate ſhall be formed or erected within the juriſdiction of any other ſtate; nor any ſtate be formed by the junction of two or more ſtates, or parts of ſtates, without the conſent of the legiſlatures of the ſtates concerned, as well as of the Congreſs.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to diſpoſe of, and make all needful rules and regulations reſpecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States: and nothing in this conſtitution ſhall be ſo conſtrued, as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular ſtate.

SECT. 4. The United States ſhall guarantee to every ſtate in this union, a republican form of government; and ſhall protect each of them againſt invaſion; and on application of the legiſla-

ture, or of the executive (when the legiſlature cannot be convened) againſt domeſtic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congreſs, whenever two-thirds of both Houſes ſhall deem it neceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this conſtitution, or, on the application of the legiſlatures of two-thirds of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall call a convention for propoſing amendments, which, in either caſe, ſhall be valid, to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this conſtitution, when ratified by the legiſlatures of three fourths of the ſeveral ſtates, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratificatſon may be propoſed by the Congreſs; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no ſtate, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the ſenate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be as valid againſt the United States, under this conſtitution, as under the confederation.

This conſtitution, and the laws of the United States which ſhall be made in perſuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the judges, in every ſtate, ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the conſtitution or laws of any ſtate to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The Senators & Repreſentatives before mentioned, & the members of the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to ſupport this conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine ſtates, ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution between the ſtates ſo ratifying the ſame.

Done in convention, by the unanimous conſent of the ſtates preſent, the ſeventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witneſs whereof, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
Preſident, and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampſhire, John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.—Maſſachuſetts, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.—Connecticut, William Samuel Johnſon, Roger Sherman.—New-York, Alexander Ham-

ilton.—New-Jerſey, William Livingſton, David Brearley, William Patterſon, Jonathan Dayton.—Pennſylvania, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzſimons, Jared Ingerſol, James Wilſon, Gouverneur Morris.—Delaware, George Reed, Gunning Bedford, jun. John Dickinſon, Richard Baſſett, Jacob Broom.—Maryland, James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.—Virginia, John Blair, James Madiſon, junr.—North Carolina, William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamſon.—South Carolina, John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.—Georgia, William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Atteſt: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Begun and held at the city of New-York, on Wedneſday the fourth of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine.

RESOLVED, by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled, two-thirds of both Houſes concurring, That the following Articles be propoſed to the Legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, as Amendments to the Conſtitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the ſaid Legiſlatures, to be valid, to all intents and purpoſes, as part of the ſaid Conſtitution,—viz.

ARTICLES.

In addition to, and amendment of the Conſtitution of the United States of America, propoſed by Congreſs, and ratified by the Legiſlatures of the ſeveral States, purſuant to the fifth article of the original Conſtitution.

1. After the firſt enumeration, required by the firſt article of the Conſtitution, there ſhall be one repreſentive for every thirty thouſand, until the number ſhall amount to one hundred; after which, the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by Congreſs, that there ſhall be not leſs than one hundred repreſentatives, nor leſs than one repreſentatives for every forty thouſand perſons, until the number of repreſentatives ſhall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by Congreſs, that there ſhall not be leſs than two hundred repreſentatives, nor more than one repreſentative for every fifty thouſand perſons.

2. No law, varying the compenſation for the ſervices of the ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall take effect, until an election of repreſentatives ſhall have intervened.

3. Congreſs ſhall make no law reſpecting an eſtabliſhment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercife thereof, or abridging the freedom of ſpeech, or of the preſs; or the right of the people peaceably to aſſemble, and to petition the government for a redreſs of grievancies.

4. A well regulated militia being neceſſary to the ſecurity of a free ſtate, the right of the people to keep and bear arms ſhall not be infringed.

5. No ſoldier ſhall, in time of peace, be quartered in any houſe, without the conſent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be preſcribed by law.

6. The right of the people to be ſecure in their perſons, houſes, papers, and effects, againſt unreaſonable ſearches and ſeizure, ſhall not be violated; and no warrant ſhall iſſue, but upon probable cauſe, ſupported by oath or affirmation—and particularly deſcribing the place to be ſearched, and the perſons or things to be ſeized.

7. No perſon ſhall be held to anſwer for a capital or otherwiſe infamous crime, unleſs on a preſentment or indictment by a grand jury, except in caſes ariſing in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual ſervice in time of war, or public danger: nor ſhall any perſon be ſubject for the ſame offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor ſhall be compelled in any criminal caſe, to be a witneſs againſt himſelf; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due proceſs of law; nor ſhall private property be taken for public uſe, without juſt compenſation.

8. In all criminal proſecutions, the accuſed ſhall enjoy the right to a ſpeedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, of the ſtate and diſtrict, wherein the crime ſhall have been committed; which diſtrict ſhall have been previouſly aſcertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cauſe of the accuſation; to be confronted with the witneſſes againſt him; to have compulſory proceſs for obtaining witneſſes in his favor; and to have the aſſiſtance of counſel for his defence.

9. In ſuits at common law, where the value in controverſy ſhall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury ſhall be preſerved: and no fact tried by a jury, ſhall be otherwiſe re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

10. Exceſſive bail ſhall not be required; nor exceſſive fines impoſed; nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

11. The enumeration, in the Conſtitution, of certain rights, ſhall not be conſtrued to deny or diſparage others, retained by the people.

12. The powers, not delegated to the United States, by the

Conſtitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reſerved to the States reſpectively, or to the people.

FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.
JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-Préſident of the United States and Preſident of the Senate.*

Atteſt
JOHN BECKLEY, *Clerk of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.*
SAMUEL A. OTIS, *Secretary of the Senate.*

N. B. By the returns made into the Secretary of State's office, it appears that the firſt article of the above amendments as agreed to by only ſeven States—the ſecond by only four—and therefore theſe are not obligatory. All the remainder, having been ratified by nine States, are of equal obligation with the Conſtitution itſelf.

The following is the TERRIBLE LETTER *to* MAZZEI, *which the editors of the tory papers in the United States have been harping upon ever ſince the year* 1798; *and which is aſcribed to Mr. Jefferſon. Whether it is the production of that great and good man, we are unable to determine; but from the elegance of its ſtyle, the truths it contains, and the patriotiſm it breathes, we are induced to believe it proceeded from his pen. Our readers are requeſted to peruſe it with attention.*

"OUR political ſituation is prodigiouſly changed ſince you left us. Inſtead of that noble love of liberty, and that republican government, which carried us through the dangers of the war, an Anglo—Monarchio—Ariſtocratic party has ariſen. Their avowed object is to impoſe on us the *ſubſtance* as they have already given us the *form* of the Britiſh government. Nevertheleſs, the principal body of our citizens remain faithful to republican principles. All our proprietors of lands are friendly to thoſe principles, as alſo the men of talents. We have againſt us the *Executive Power*, the *Judiciary Power*, *all the officers of government*, *all who are ſeeking offices*, *all timid men who prefer the calm of deſpotiſm to the tempeſtuous ſea of liberty*, *the Britiſh merchants and the Americans who trade on Britiſh capitals*, *the ſpeculators*, *perſons intereſted in the bank and public funds*.—[eſtabliſhments invented with views of corruption, and to aſſimilate us to the Britiſh model in its corrupt parts.]

"I ſhould give you a fever, if I ſhould name the apoſtates who have embraced theſe hereſies, men who were Solomons in council, and Sampſons in combat, but whoſe hair has been cut off by the whore England.

"They would wreſt from us that liberty which we have obtained by ſo much lobour and peril; but we ſhall preſerve it. Our maſs of weight and riches are ſo powerful, that we have nothing to fear from any attempt againſt us by force. It is ſufficient that we guard ourſelves, and that *we break the lilipution ties* by which they have bound us, in the firſt ſlumbers which ſucceeded our labours. It ſuffices that we arreſt the progreſs of that ſyſtem of ingratitude and injuſtice towards France, from which they would alienate us, to bring us under Britiſh influence."

FROM THE BEE.

MANY inhabitants of Virginia now repreſented in congreſs have no voice in elections, being denied the freeman's oath becauſe they are *black*.

Many inhabitants of Connecticut now repreſented in congreſs have no voice in elections, being denied the freeman's oath becauſe they are *poor*.

Virginia disfranchiſes the poor black man.

Connecticut disfranchiſes the poor white man.

Virginia calls *nobody* the repreſentatives of poor men, of ragmuffins, who have no more voice in elections than beaſts.

Connecticut calls *ſomebody* the repreſentatives of black men, of ſlaves, who have no more voice in elections than brutes.

Virginia does not rail at Connecticut for ſaying that her blacks are treated like cattle. Connecticut rails at Virginia for ſaying that her poor are treated like blacks—that ſo far as elections are concerned, that there is no difference between

A disfranchiſed black man, is like

A disfranchiſed white man, except that one is blck and the other white. Our federal papers have repeatedly called on us to reſent this inſult. Inſult! good heavens! who inſult us the moſt, the Virginian who compares us to the ſouthern ſlaves, or prieſts and rulers who brought us into that ſituation? Virginia does not, like Connecticut, compel her disfranchiſed citizens to arm themſelves, and preſent their breaſts as a bulwark againſt the bayonet of their enemies, to ſhed their blood in defence of a government ſolely employed in forging, fixing, and riveting their chains.

Militia men of Connecticut! look through the ranks of your companies. How many freemen are there? how many of the well born? Where are the miniſters? Dining with the officers. Where are the members of the council and aſſembly? They made the law and prudently excuſed themſelves. Noble, noble patriots! Where are the juſtices of peace? Lolling with lazineſs on the ſtep ſtones of the ſanctuary. Where are the lawyers? Look-

ing contemptuouſly at you from the windows of their offices. Where is the poor widow's ſon, whoſe ſix months' wages are to clothe himſelf and ſupport his helpleſs mother and orphan brothers and ſiſters? Does he not ſtand in the ranks, armed by his own induſtry, and cheerful, though he knows he muſt not only loſe the preſent day but work perhaps two in the fall to make up the loſt time? Where is the child of fortune, the member of college? Walking in his gown on the ſmooth ſhaven green with ſome ſoft nymph: early excuſed from all public burdens, he never feels their weight, and is one day deſtined to be a legiſlator; a legiſlator who will pile tax upon tax, pannier upon pannier, here a little and there a great deal, without any ſympathy for the embarraſſments of the poor. He can already tune his voice adroitly to the federal key, and prattle very prettily about taxes that amount to only "one cent a man." Magnanimous young man, does it become you to deſpiſe a larger ſum than you ever gained? Where, is the cent that you ever earned? Fumble your pockets, ſcratch your heads—alas! I fear that your *one cent* when put in the *balance* would be found wanting!

Thus ſtand the tables when your country is to be defended at the point of the bayonet; but how are they changed when your rights are to be defended by the dint of the ballot! Look through the ranks—how many militia-men are there? how many of the baſe born? Where are your miniſters now? Writing votes. Nay, have not ſome of them been ſo very valiant, that after they have exhauſted the ammunition of their ink-ſtands they have pierced their fingers and written federal votes in letters of blood? Where are the members of the Council and Aſſembly? They made the law; and prudently enacted that themſelves ſhould preſide. Noble, noble patriots! Where are the juſtices of the peace? are they now lolling on the ſtep ſtones, or are they anxiouſly meaſuring the debth of your purſe to ſee if you have *ſufficient grace to be made free*, or looking with a *ſtep mother's ſmiles* at thoſe who dare vote for Jacobins? Where are the lawyers? Do they now ſtand afar off at their office windows, looking contempt? or are they about to ſhare the labor of the day, and with mingled bows and rills of oily eloquence ſmiling reſpect? Where is the poor widow's ſon? is he now called upon to loſe a day from his ſix months bondage? No: he is excuſed, but may, if he will be orderly, look in at the door. Where is the young man of fortune, the member of college? With powdered head, and out turned toes and ſelf ſufficient ſtrut, he goes from rank to rank with packages of votes, nicely copied from the Pope's laſt bulls.

O Connecticut, Connecticut! How long will ye ſuffer theſe things to be? How long muſt my feeble hand write upon the plaiſter of the wall. MENE TEKLE.

FROM THE AURORA.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No. I.

THAT thoſe who have ſaid ſo much againſt the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and who by pretending to refrain from licentiouſneſs, had nearly deſtroyed the liberty of ſpeaking and writing, ſhould ſo ſoon forget their own principles, and become themſelves the groſſeſt calumniators, preſents a ſtrong feature of the character of the party. When the republicans under the late adminiſtration, reprobated its meaſures, on the ground of fact and argument, they were fined and impriſoned. They were pronounced guilty of ſedition, declared the enemies of order, of government and their country. Even when the proof of the truth might have exonerated the printer, the common law was reſorted to in order to deprive him of the common rights of juſtice*—and the truth itſelf has been puniſhed as crime.

But the ſcene is now changed. What then was ſeditious in federal eyes, is now an evidence of attachment to order. What then was deemed repugnant to union, is now the offspring of a commendable jealouſy. What then was enmity to our county is now the ſpirit of patriotiſm. Every newspaper of the opponents of adminiſtration, will witneſs theſe truths. Scarcely a page iſſueſe from their preſſes, but meets the ſight befouled with the moſt ſhameleſs calumny. When no facts exiſt for miſrepreſentation, they are ſure to fabricate falſhoods. When conſiſtency of character gives no room for ſelf approbation, with an ingenuity peculiar to themſelves, they attempt to extract merit from their inconſiſtencies. Every day affords proofs of this—but the hiſtory of the laſt ſeſſion of congreſs, from the importance of its tranſactions gives the moſt ſtriking and inconteſtible proofs of all. Till then, the warmeſt friends of the minority never entertained a ſuſpicion, that they wiſhed to leſſen public burdens, or to relieve the diſtreſſes of the poor. On former occaſions every pretext to enlarge the revenues of the government, was diligently ſought after; and when one pretext was exhauſted, another was created. But here, totally unlike themſelves, with a charity for oppreſſed poverty, which from their paſt profeſſions and practice, was ſuppoſed to be foreign from their natures, they labored to diminiſh the duties on—*ſalt*—*Bohea tea*—*brown ſugar* and *coffe*—With a mo-

* Mathew Lyon, a member of congreſs, was fined and impriſoned, for a publication under the ſedition law, which took place before the law had exiſtence. Adams, of Boſton, printer of the Chronicle, was tried by a packed jury under the common law, and impriſoned. Frothingham, printer at New-York, was tried under the common law, and impriſoned: both theſe caſes and the following while the ſedition law had exiſtence. Luther Baldwin was fined and impriſoned by a ſentence of judge Waſhington, in Jerſeys under the common law, the crime a wiſh that the wadding of a gun had hit Mr. Adams's poſteriors. Numerous cases might be added.

lefs they never before poſſeſſed, *popularity was not their aim! Feelings like thoſe of a virtuous man, when he does an act of beneficence, was their only expected reward.* Right worthy and noble ſirs!—I would not detract from your merits; I would not rob you of the applauſe of one ſingle act of your lives, which has the appearance of virtue. I am perfectly willing that your conſtituents ſhould know the motives of your conduct. I am perfectly willing that they ſhould *ſee*, that while you *had* the power to remove their grievances, you perſevered in *accumulating* tax upon tax; and when your power was *departed*, you affected a veneration for the rights of the people, and an anxiety for the diminution of their burdens! To appreciate your ſervices, they ſhould be told, that rather than ſuffer the internal taxes to be repealed, you would be guilty of an inconſiſtency of character.—The hiſtory of the duties on ſalt, bohea tea, brown ſugar, and coffee, with a recurrence to the events which took place on the floor of congreſs during the laſt ſeſſion, will be no ſmall evidence of the duplicity and hypocricy of your conduct. That hiſtory is intended to be now ſubmitted to the underſtanding of the people of the union;—for they can have no intereſt in being deceived. When rightly informed their judgments will be correct. Neither a pretence to patriotiſm, nor a ſpurious ſenſenſibility for the drinkers of tea and coffee, can protect the conduct of men from reproach and ſuſpicion, who have attempted to delude the common intelligence of the country.

A CONCISE HISTORY,

Of the duties on ſalt, brown ſugar, bohea tea and coffee, extracted from the Journals of Congreſs.

During the adminiſtration of general Waſhington—

The duty on Salt	was 12 cents	per buſhel.
——————— Bohea Tea	12	per pound.
——————— Brown Sugar	2	per pound.
——————— Coffee	5	per pound.

On the 18th of July, 1797, in the firſt congreſs of Mr. Adams's adminiſtration, an additional duty of 8 cents per buſhel, was laid on ſalt, making the entire duty on that article 20 cents a buſhel. The additional duty was limited in its continuance to two years; that is to the 8th of July 1799, and from thence until the end of the next ſeſſion of Congreſs.

But afterwards, on the 7th of May 1800, a law was enacted to continue this additional duty on ſalt for ten years, from the 3d of March 1800, to the 3d of March 1810.

The duty on brown ſugar was alſo encreaſed during the ſame adminiſtration, from two to two and a half cents per pound.

By virtue of this act, and alſo of the acts of the third of March 1795, and of the 31ſt of May 1796, paſſed during the adminiſtration of general Waſhington, all the *then* as well as the *further* proceeds of the duties on goods, wares and merchandize, including of courſe all the duties before noticed, on *ſalt, brown ſugar, bohea tea*, and *coffee*, were ſolemnly appropriated for the extinguiſhment of the public debt, until the whole of the ſaid debt, foreign and domeſtic, ſhould be paid and diſcharged.

When the additional duty of 8 cents a buſhel on ſalt, was firſt propoſed in Congreſs, on the 9th of June, 1797, it was rejected in the houſe of repreſentatives by the *ſtrenuous exertions of the republican members*. Soon after, on the 26th of June, 1797, a bill was preſented by William Smith of Charleſton, a federaliſt, to authoriſe a loan of 800,000 dollars, which was paſſed into a law; and on the 4th of July, 1797, being only *ſix days* before congreſs adjourned, and when a number of the members had left Congreſs and returned home, an other motion was made by thoſe then called federal members, and crried, for impoſing the additional duty of *eight cents a buſhel* on ſalt.

On this motion the yeas and nays were taken, when the yeas were 47 and the nays 41.

Accordirgly a bill was brought in, and on *the ſame day* paſſed into a law by thoſe then called *federaliſts*, for laying the additional duty of *eight cents* a buſhel on ſalt. This bill was without limitation of time, and of courſe deſigned to make the duty permanent and a perpetual tax. The republicans thereupon moved a *clauſe* to be added to the law, which would limit the continuance of this additional duty to two yeaas. This *clauſe* was violently oppoſed by the federaliſts, but carried by the republicans on a vote 47 to 43.

At a ſubſequent ſeſſion of congreſs during Mr. Adams's adminiſtration, and after an act had been paſſed by the federaliſts to authoriſe an other loan of *five millions of dollars*, at an intereſt of *eight per cent* a motion was made by the federaliſts for a law "to continue in force the act paſſed on the 8th of July, 1797, laying an additional duty on ſalt," this motion was carried by the federaliſts, 54 to 38.

The bill was accordingly brought in and paſſed into a law by the *Federaliſts*, directing the additional duty of *eight cents* per buſhel on *ſalt*, to be continued in force, for and during the term of *ten years* from the 3d of March, 1800, to the 3d of March, 1810. On the diſcuſſion of this bill, the republicans moved to ſtrike out "*ten years*" and to inſert inſtead thereof "*two years*," ſo as to leave the law in force only until the 3d of March 1802, but this alteration was rejected by the federaliſts, 44 to 50.

From the foregoing facts, it will appear that the duties on ſalt,

brown ſugar, bohea tea and coffee were originally laid during the adminiſtration of General Waſhington.

That *additional* duties on *ſalt* and *brown ſugar* were impoſed by the federaliſts during the adminiſtration of Adams.

That the additional duty of *eight cents* per buſhel on ſalt, was, when firſt propoſed by the Federaliſts. . . . . rejected by the Republicans . . . .

That the ſame additional duty was afterwards, in the ſame ſeſſion, moved and carried by the *Federaliſts*.

That it was again ſtrenuouſly objected to and oppoſed by the Republicans.

That this additional duty was firſt propoſed to be made perpetual by the *Federaliſts*.

That this attempt was oppoſed and defeated by the republicans.

That the firſt limitation of the ſaid additional duty to two years was moved and carried by the *Republicans*.

That this limitation to *two years* was objected to and oppoſed by the Federaliſts.

That the law paſſed May 7, 1800, to continue the additional duty of *eight cents* per buſhel on *ſalt* for ten years, was firſt propoſed by the Federaliſts.

That it was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Republicans.

That a ſecond attempt to limit the ſaid additional duty to *two years*, that is, to the 3d of March 1802, was made by the Republicans.

That this attempt was defeated, and the law as it now ſtands to continue the ſaid additional duty until the third of March 1810, was carried by the *Federaliſts*.

That the increaſe and continuance of theſe duties were preceded by laws authoriſing loans of money to the public, and

That the proceeds of the duties on ſalt, bohea tea, brown ſugar, and coffee, were by law appropriated to the payment of the public debt until the whole of it ſhould be diſcharged.

The reflections reſulting from theſe facts, and from the repeal of the internal taxes, will in a future number be ſubmitted to the calm and diſpaſſionate judgment of a free and diſcerning people.

ANDREW MARVEL.

FROM THE SUN.

An excellent republican paper, publiſhed in Pittsfield, Maſſachuſetts; by Mr. P. ALLEN.

A few plain facts and calculations, recommended to the conſideration *of all denominations of people.*

THE taxes of the United States were of two kinds, Impoſts and Exciſes. An Impoſt is a tax or duty levied on imported articles, at their importation: An Exciſe is an internal tax on articles of domeſtic manufacture, uſe or labour. The two ſyſtems of taxation were intirely diſtinct, eſtabliſhed at different periods, regulated by different laws and executed by two different ſets of officers. The Impoſts are collected in a few ports, by officers reſiding there: The exciſes were collected in almoſt every town, village and ſettlement in the whole country, by 467 officers. Impoſts are levied on almoſt all imported articles: The late exciſes were of ſix claſſes only; to wit, on Stamps, Retail Licences, Auction Licences, Carriages, home-made Spirits and home-made Sugars. There had been a ſnuff Exciſe, but it was ſoon repealed. The net average amount of the Impoſts, (including tonage) was eſtimated at nine millions, five hundred thouſand dollars a year; that of the Exciſes, only ſix hundred and fifty thouſand dollars. The groſs amount indeed was conſiderably more. In the year 1800, it was as follows, after deducting drawbacks;

	Dollars	*Cents.*
The tax on Stills and Diſtilled Spirits	462,350	20
The Sugar Tax	59,357	95
The Licence Tax	65,159	44
The Auction Tax	51,650	41
Carriage Tax	77,871	41
The Stamp Tax	220,702	70
Total groſs amount	973,092	11

The moſt productive were thoſe on diſtillation and ſtamps. The other four would ſcarcely defray the charges of collection and the neceſſary expences of the ſyſtem. The impoſts coſt leſs than four per cent; the Exciſes, near twenty per cent. By the conſtitution, Impoſts belong excluſively to the general government: Over exciſes the ſtate governments have a concurrent juriſdiction. When the Conſtitution was adopted it was ſaid and underſtood, that Impoſts alone would be levied by the Federal Government, except in caſes of war or other emergences; and exciſes be left in times of peace, to the States. The impoſts were laid firſt: The Exciſes introduced afterwards, and

as a temporary ſyſtem, and not all of them finally made permanent. A former Congreſs repealed the exciſe on ſnuff, but left the other ſix unrepealed. At the laſt ſeſſion, the preſent Congreſs repealed the whole remaining ſyſtem of Exciſes; but left the Impoſt untouched, as it was eſtabliſhed, under the old adminiſtration. The only plauſible objection againſt this meaſure is, that they ought to have reduced a part of the impoſts, in preference to repealing all the Exciſes; becauſe ſome of the exciſes fell more upon the rich, and leſs upon the poor, than ſome of the Impoſts. But it ought to be remembered, that whether the Impoſt ſyſtem is well proportioned or not, whether it is in itſelf a good or a bad ſyſtem of taxation, the merit or demerit, the whole reſponſibility of it, reſts upon the former Congreſs of *federal* politics, who eſtabliſhed it juſt as it remains. The preſent Congreſs have not yet thought proper to reform it. In due ſeaſon they may undertake a reformation in that department of our federal laws. Beſides, it ought not to be forgotten, that by the addition of the whole Exciſes, they have diſcharged four hundred and ſixty-ſeven exciſe officers, who were ſupported at the public expence; cut off one entire branch of executive patronage; reſtored the objects of internal taxation to the States, to whom they naturally belong, and ſaved the people from the payment of near a million of dollars a year, directly and indirectly, which, however neted to the treaſury only about ſix hundred and fifty thouſand dollars annually, on an average; whereas, a reduction of an equal ſum of the impoſts would ſave but little expence of collection, and not have releaſed one revnue officer. Even, if part of the exciſes had been repealed, and others ſuffered to remain, the whole corps of collecting officers muſt ſtill have been continued. Every candid man may here ſee a deciſive reaſon for what congreſs have done; and it is unjuſt to cenſure them for what they have not yet done. Becauſe they have not been able, in one ſeſſion, to releive us of all our taxes, we ought not to be ungrateful for their exertions in relieving us from a part. A partial relief is a benfit; even, if it were true, that applied in another manner it would hav been a greater benefit. But that is not true. However it might have been more beneficial in ſome reſpects, to reduce a part of the Impoſts, it would, in its whole effect, have been much leſs ſo, eſpecially to the nothern States. New England, and Maſſachuſetts in particular, is peculiarly benefited by the repeal of the Exciſes. Maſſachuſetts paid more than a fifth of all thoſe taxes; more than Virginia, and near than a third more than her own proportion, of the Carriage tax. The five New England States paid almoſt eight ninths of the tax on ſtills and diſtilled ſpirits, the heavieſt of all the exciſes. The ſugar tax was chiefs

ly paid in the northern States: for there is not a manufactory of refined Sugar south of the Potomac; and indeed about half of it is manufactured north of the Hudson. These facts have not generally received the consideration they deserve.

The sugar tax, having been the subject of much party clamour, and no small popular misapprehension, requires a particular explanation. Prejudice has been excited by an artful comparison of refined and brown Sugars, without distinguishing between the Imposts and the Excises. Let us attend to the whole truth on this subject. Home made brown sugar pays no duty; but home made white Sugar pays a duty, not laid in form of an Excise, upon it after it is refined, but by way of an Impost upon the raw material, of wich it is made. The impost is nine cents on each pound of imported loaf Sugar, six cents and a half on each pound of lump sugar, three cents and a half on each pound of white powdered Sugar, and two cents and a half on each pound of brown Sugar. Whether these Impost duties are rightly proportioned upon these different species of imported Sugar, need not be here considered. As a *Federal* Congress established the proporiton, their friends surely will not complain of it. When the Sugar is imported, and the duty on its importation once paid, it is immeterial to the revenue, whether it is consumed in the condition in which it is imported, or changed by a process of refinment into a different state. If one man, or class of men, use the brown sugar, as imported, and an other man or class of men, prefer to be at the expence of having it refined or doubly refined, if they please, before they use it, it makes no difference, as to the duty paid, except that the more highly the sugar is refined, the greater is the quantity of original Sugar, which the consumer uses, and consequently the greater the proportion, which he pays of the impost. Thus a man is taxed in proportion to his luxury, in the article of Sugar, without an Excise. The late excise on all Sugar refined in the United States without distinction between loaf and lump, was two cents a pound. By the repeal of the excise system, that additional tax is removed; and home made white sugar is now subject to no other duty than what is paid upon the raw material, of which it is manfactured. It is computed that two pounds of brown Sugar are required to make one of lump, and two and a half one of loaf Sugar. According to this computation, the Impost paid upon a pound of home made loaf sugar is six cents and a quarter, and, of lump sugar five cents. the difference between these duties, and those paid on imported sugars of correspondent qualities, operates as an encouragement to that branch of domestic manufacture; in the same manner, as the simular difference between home made and imported brown sugars encourages

the making of maple ſugar among us. Our farmers would think it unreaſonable to have an Exciſe laid upon maple ſugar, equal to the Impoſt laid on imported brown ſugar. For the ſame reaſon the manufacturers of Refined Sugar tho't it unjuſt that their manufacture ſhould be burthened with an exciſe. The burden has accordingly been taken off. So that now the conſumer of domeſtic refined ſugars, inſtead of paying no duty on them as the *Federaliſts* have pretended, and as many people for want of correct information, have ſuppoſed, in fact pay by the pound, more than double the duty paid by the conſumers of brown Sugar, and, at the ſame time, the Refinery of Sugar is happily freed from the burden of an Exciſe, and reſtored to the ſame footing of encouragement as all other American Manufactures.

Fellow citizens, inſtead of liſtening to the ravings of diſappointed partizans, attend to facts and calculations, and think and decide for yourſelves.

FOR THE CONNECTICUT REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE.

CITIZEN PRATT,

THE character of the human race has been long conſidered as a compound in which ſo many abſurdities and incongruities appear to have been inſerted, that it is difficult to determine whether they are more deſerving of condolence or congratulation, of derſion or applauſe. Nature ſeems to have beſtowed on man every thing neceſſary to promote his happineſs, and add to the dignity of his ſpecies; but inſtead of the conſequences we expect from theſe gifts, we find him peeviſh, fretful, at war with his own comfort, practiſing to degrade himſelf, and ſapping the building which prevents his deſcending into the gulph of infamy.

The eternal broils which afflict ſociety, afford one of the ſtrongeſt evidences of the folly and inconſiſtency of man. But however the ſickly ſhadows of the brain, the phantoms of a diſtracted imagination, may be called into the account, and ſet up as the diſturbers of the public peace; the true cauſe is uniformly found in an ariſtocratic ſpirit, or an ambition by art or force, to obtain a conſequence beyond the rank of an equal in the community of citizens.

The occaſions on which this diſplays itſelf are various as the purſuits of man; the means are as diverſified as his ingenuity can invent. From the little neighborhood to the extended empire, this aſpiring principle is continually ſeen, and wherever it is diſcovered, we are certain that its attendant evils cannot be diſtant.

The epithet of a diſturber of the public repoſe, an enemy to order, an encourager of ſedition, is frequently attached to thoſe whoſe higheſt pleaſure is to benefit their fellow creatures, whoſe greateſt ambition is the public enjoyment of the fruits of their labors, and the promotion of the general proſperity; and whoſe ſupreme delight is to diſpenſe rational happineſs: but who at the ſame time poſſeſs wiſdom to diſcern, and ſpirit to defend their rights, and from whom proud tyrants learn, that a bound is ſet to oppreſſion, which the oppreſſed will not permit it to exceed.

For proof of theſe remarks, I might ſummon up the inſolent epithet of REBEL, attempted to be fixed on the patriotic atchievers of our independence; I might point to the united ſons of injured, oppreſſed, and inſulted Ireland; men whoſe bravery, patriotiſm and humanity, will demand an immortal page in the archieves of freedom; I might go back into antiquity, and find the bleſſed JESUS accuſed of ſedition, and his diſciples accuſed of having turned the world upſide down; but the trouble is unneceſſary, the proofs are before our eyes, and I ſhall confine my remarks to the traits more particularly apparent in our native ſtate. Scarce can we turn our eyes to any portion of its manners or laws, but we diſcover traces more or leſs ſtrong, of the prevalence of this ariſtocratic ſpirit: and the poſſeſſors of privileges have ſo long enjoyed their ſuperiority, that they ſeem aſtoniſhed when the zephyrs of patriotiſm ruffle the calm of deſpotic ſway. Forgetting that the aſſumption of authority which was never theirs, and the exerciſe of powers inconſiſtent with the rights of man, are the occaſion of oppoſition; they cry out as if themſelves were injured, and the innocent objects of perſecution. In towns where this ariſtocratic domination has obtained a momentary triumph, no ſooner does ſome more generous and diſcerning citizen, endeavor to awaken the ſleeping ſenſe of the people, than he is hunted down by the whole pack, who cry out that they were peaceable until his voice was raiſed: Yes, you were peaceable, but the injured ſons of Afric, who groan beneath the laſh of a lordly maſter, with whom to murmer is death, are more quiet than you! Yes, you were without political quarrels, when to promote your own ambitious views, you had only to bargain the influence of each other, to hold the rod of terror over any one who dared oppoſe, and to divide the liberties of the people among yourſelves, but thank Heaven, the calm of your domination is diſturbed, is agitated; ſome noble ſpirits have arouſed the people from their ſlumbers; your influence is decayed, your thrones totter to their fall, and I truſt your complete overthrow will not occupy a diſtant ſpace in the annals of time.

When we behold clergymen crying out that they are the objects of perſecution for being the ambaſſadors of a religion which is ſought to be overthrown; that if *their* enemies prevail the deareſt ſenſation of the heart, that of loving our creator, will become a crime, we naturally look to the cauſes of all this outcry. But if we find that the whole of the perſecution of which the holy man complains, is contained in ſome wholeſome admonitions to omit the affairs of this world when he is pointing out the way to the next, eſpecially when he finds that confounding the two countries will give a juſt offence to his fellow traveller; when we diſcover that the whole of this fear originates from a dread of loſing the aid of law in extorting contributions from thoſe who neither ſee the neceſſity nor propriety of paying them; when we behold them trembling for the loſs of their benefices for life; we are aſtoniſhed at the true cauſe of their complaint, but we readily recognize the party in fault. We cannot forbear to enquire, whence originates your alarm at the proſpect of a reſtoration of religion to its purity, to the place where nature and nature's God has placed it; on the broad baſis of the mind? whence but that you are conſcious you have largely ſhared in the ravages of uſurpation and cannot produce your commiſſion for the deed. Happily for religion, there are exceptions to theſe remarks, and though many have erred, we hope few have been wilfully guilty.

When I view the rank in the ſcale of freedom which was once held by Connecticut, at a time when the rights of man were leſs underſtood and ſtill leſs practiſed on than at preſent; when I recall the ardor which inſpired her ſons in the late revolution, & reflect on her means of information, and the happy mediocrity of her citizens—when I behold what ſhe might be and contraſt it with what ſhe is—the picture is aſtoniſhing, gloomy and painful. There have a few ambitious triumphed in the deception of the many honeſt and induſtrious, by preſerving a general vote for the higher department of the legiſlature, and mutually lying for each other. There is the principles of univeral ſufferage ſcouted, & the ſentiment "that MAN IS MAN AND WHO IS MORE?" ſeems to have been entirely forgotten. There it is a crime to follow the dictates of conſcience—even in political faith. And to add to the inſult, thoſe who oppoſe theſe unprincipled violations of right are ſtigmatized with every opprobrious epithet which the ingenuity of their tyrants can deviſe. Oh my fellow citizens, will you longer be blinded by their "*ſolemn mockery and fantaſtic lies?*" will you forever remain inſenſible to their baſeneſs? No, the miſt is already diſperſing, and the clouds are paſſed away; the ſun of truth and freedom illumes your dwellings, and ſoon will thoſe who ſeek not your good be compelled to relinquiſh their hold of your liberty, and retire from their blaſhing honors to obſcurity and diſgrace;

there to learn that though ariſtocracy may ſtigmatiſe its oppoſers for reſiſting its unlimited ſway, yet will liberty triumph, and bring in her train the ſmiling angel, peace to heal the diviſions which they had excited.

CATO.

TO THE EDITOR.

HAVING peruſed your firſt number with due attention, I am ſtruck with the importance of the work you have taken in hand: that all citizens may gain information into whoſe hands this firſt and ſucceeding numbers may fall, I would humbly aſk them to read the intereſting ideas found in every number, repeatedly with care, that in converſation we may be enabled to inſtruct as well as confound the gainſayer.

Did you know felllow citizens! the ſophiſtry, or cheat contained in this novel maxim—"leave government & the knowledge of government to your rullers, and all will be well;" you would be fired with juſt indignation toward all thoſe, who in lulling you to ſleep, would lull you out of your deareſt rights.

This maxim was much in faſhion about thirty ſix moons ago. Many news papers did teem with it—& thouſands of good citizens drank in the poiſon—and the conſequences, how deplorable! Meaſures faſt haſtening this happy nation into the ſhackles of ariſtocracy, were in thick ſucceſſion adopted: Our feet as a free people had well nigh ſlipped during the term of a few years.

American liberties trembled to their centre, while the alien and ſedition laws, and internal taxes paſt the national Congreſs.

Theſe awful antirepublican laws, would never have paſſed, had the eyes of our citizens been open; a deep ſleep had fallen on them, through the ſiren influence of the above maxim.

And our then rulers, leſt ſome important characters, and more important printers, ſhould not be put to ſleep, by this lullaby, the ſedition act was to make them ſleep, whether or no: Thus citizens, a few years neglect to intereſt our minds in the genuine knowledge of our dear bought rights—did almoſt uſher us into the endleſs labyrinth of ariſtocracy. Repeated, cloſe & thorough peruſal of the important ideas found in this magazine & other republican publications, is therefore abſolutely neceſſary to us citizens, that our rulers, ever more, may ſtand in awe of the watchful eye of the ſovereign people, and ſin no more againſt the beſt and higheſt intereſt of this happy nation.

That this maxim is novel—this infamous maxim "leave all to rulers &c." I have recourſe to the oldeſt hiſtory in the world.

"Keep therefore, and do my ſtatutes, and my judgments, for

this is your wiſdom, and your underſtanding, in the ſight of the nations, which ſhall hear all theſe ſtatutes, and ſay ſurely this great nation is a wiſe and underſtanding people :—What nation is there ſo great, that hath ſtatutes and judgments ſo righteous,—teach them to thy ſons and to thy ſons ſons—and thou ſhalt teach them dilligently unto thy children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up—and thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign, upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes."

Theſe orders of the great God, to a favorite nation, juſt freed from the ariſtocracy of Egypt, differ greatly from this maxim, "leave government &c. to rulers and all will be well." His orders are evidently and expreſsly to all the people ; and were given when they had no king, ſave the great God himſelf. The maxim is therefore novel in view of this moſt antient hiſtory, in which, though it is ſaid by ſome, I do not believe, yet I have taken this extract to confound many, who though ſaid to believe, are found to be liars, inculcatingthe above maxim—and for this very reaſon, which mixim we believe was unknown, till this ſame people forgetful of their liberties, did aſk a king.—Look therefore, fellow citizens ! for kings ! when the doctrine of this maxim prevails, viz. "leave governmentand the knowledge of government to rulers and all will be well :" and the manner of kings you have portrayed in the firſt number, as they have exiſted in all ages.

A LOVER OF THE PEOPLE.

Sketch of the Life of the late NATHANIEL GREENE, *Major General in the forces of the United States of America.*

[BY MATTHEW CAREY.]

(Concluded from page 36.)

THIS brilliant ſucceſs quite diſconcerted the plan of operations formed by lord Cornwallis. Having entertained no idea of an enemy to oppoſe in South Caroſina, the conqueſt of which he had deemed complete, he had made every preparation for carrying his arms to the northward, to gather the laurels, which he imagined awaited for him. He now found himſelf obliged to poſtpone this deſign. He marched with rapidity after gen. Morgan, in hopes, not only to recover the priſoners, but to revenge Tarlton's loſſes. The Americans, by a rapidity of movements, and the

interference of providence,* eluded his efforts, and general Greene effected a junction of the two diviſions of his little army, on the 7th of February. Still was he ſo far inferior to lord Cornwallis, that he was obliged to retreat northward, and, notwithſtanding the vigilance and activity of his enemy, he brought his men in ſafety into Virginia.

In this ſtate he received ſome reinforcements, & had the promiſe of more—on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival, he hoped to be able to act on the offenſive. He encamped in the vicinity of lord Cornwallis's army. By a variety of the beſt concerted manœures, and by the ſecrecy and promptitude of his motions, he ſo judiciouſly ſupported the arrangement of his troops, that during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their ſuperiority, and even cut off all opportunity of their receiving ſuccours from the royaliſts.

About the beginning of March, he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two conſiderable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the Britiſh commander without loſs of time, "being perſuaded, "as he declared in his ſubſequent diſpatches, "that if he was ſucceſsful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy—and, if otherwiſe, that it would be but a partial evil to him." On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford court-houſe, the Britiſh then lying at 12 miles diſtance.

His army conſiſted of about four thouſand five hundred men, of whom near two thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia.—The Britiſh were about two thouſand four hundred, all regular troops, and the greater part innured to toil and ſervice in their long expedition under Lord Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being appriſed of gen. Green's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter diſpoſed his army in three lines; the militia of North Carolina were in front—the ſecond line was compoſed of thoſe of Virginia--and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both ſides by cavalry and riflemen, and were

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NOTE.

* "The Britiſh urged the purſuit with ſo much rapidity, that they came to the ford of the Catawba on the evening of the ſame day on which the Americans had croſſed it. Before the next day, a heavy fall of rain rendered it impaſſable. Had it riſen a few hours earlier, the Americans would have had no chance of eſcape, and their priſoners would have been retaken by the enemy. Some time after, the ſame providential interference took place in paſſing the Yadkin. A ſudden and rapid riſe, after the Americans had croſſed, prevented lord Cornwallis from getting over." [Vide Ramſay, Vol. II. p. 206, 208,]

poſted on a riſing ground, a mile and a half from Guilford court houſe. The engagement commenced at half an hour after one o'clock, by a briſk cannonade. After which the Britiſh advanced in three columns and attacked the firſt line, compoſed, as has been obſerved, of North Carolinia militia. Theſe, who probably, had never been in action before, were panic ſtruck at the approach of the enemy, and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the Britiſh had come nearer than 140 yards to them. Part of them however fired, but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every poſſible effort to rally them—but neither the advantages of their poſition, nor any other conſideration, could induce them to maintain their ground.—This ſhameful cowardice had a great effect upon the iſſue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery; and after they were thrown into diſorder, rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very ſevere, and very bloody. At length, ſuperiority of diſcipline carried the day from ſuperiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and an half, and was terminated by gen. Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived, that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.

This was a hard-fought action. Lord Cornwallis ſtated his loſſes in killed, wounded, and miſſing, at 532, among whom were ſeveral officers of conſiderable rank. To thoſe who are uſed to conſider the thouſands killed in the plains of Germany, very frequently without producing any viſible conſequence on the fate of a war, the number here mentioned muſt appear inſignificant. But this battle was nevertheleſs, deceſive in its conſequences. Lord Cornwallis was three days after, obliged to make a retrograde motion, and to return to Wilmington, ſituated two hundred miles from the place of action. He was even under the neceſſity of abandoning a conſiderable number of thoſe who were moſt dangerouſly wounded.

The loſs of the Americans was about four hundred killed and wounded. However, this was not ſo ſeverely felt, as the deſertion of a conſiderable number of milita, who fled homewards, and came no more near the army.

Some time after this engagement, gen. Greene determined to return to South Carolina, to endeavor to expel the Britiſh from that ſtate. His firſt object was to attempt the ruduction of Camden, where lord Rawdon was poſted with about nine hundred men. The ſtrength of this place, which was covered on the ſouth and eaſt ſides by a river and a creek, and to the weſtward and northward, by ſix redoubts, rendered it impracticable to carry it by ſtorm, with the ſmall army gen. Greene had, conſiſting of about

ſeven hundred continentals. He, therfore, encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent ſupplies from being brought in, and to take advantage of ſuch favorable circumſtances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon's ſituation was extremely delicate. Col. Watſon, whom he had ſome time before detached for the protection of the eaſtern frontiers, and to whom he had, on intelligence of general Greene's intentions, ſent orders to return to Camden, was ſo effectually watched by general Marian, that it was impoſſible for him to obey. His lordſhip's ſupplies were moreover, very precarious:—and, ſhould general Greene's reinforcements arrive, he might be ſo cloſely inveſted, as to be at length obliged to ſurrender. In this dilemma, the beſt expedient that ſuggeſted itſelf, was a bold attack; for which purpoſe he armed his muſicians and drummers, and every perſon capable of carrying a muſquet.

He ſallied out on the 25th of April, and attacked gen. Greene in his camp. The defence was obſtinate, and, for ſome part of the engagement, the andvantage appeared to be in favor of America. Lieut. colonel Waſhington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not leſs than tow hundred Britiſh priſoners.

However, by the miſconduct of one of the American regiments, victory was ſnatched from general Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He loſt in the action about two hundred killed, wounded, and priſoners. Lord Rawdon loſt 258.

There was a great ſimilarity between the conſequences of the affair at Guilford, and thoſe of this action. In the former, lord Cornwallis was ſucceſsful—but was obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the ſcene of action, and for a time abandon the grand object of penetrating to the northward. In the latter, lord Rawdon had the honor of the field, but was ſhortly after reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning his poſt and leaving behind him a number of ſick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of gen. Greene, and of the ſeveral officers he employed, gave a new face to affairs in South Carolina, where the Britiſh aſcendency declined more rapidly than it had been eſtabliſhed. The numerous forts garriſoned by the enemy, fell one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watſon, Georgetown, Granby, and all the others, fort Ninety-ſix excepted, were ſurrendered; and a very conſiderable number of priſoners of war, with military ſtores and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d of May, general Greene ſat down before Ninety-ſix, with the main part of his little army. The ſiege was carried on for a conſiderable time with great ſpirit: and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length, the works were ſo far reduced, that a ſurrender muſt have been made in a few days,

when a reinforcement of three rigiments, from Europe, arrived at Charlſton, which enabled lord Rawdan to proceed to relieve this important poſt. The ſuperiority of the enemy's force, reduced general Greene to the alternative of abandoning the ſiege altogether, or, previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by ſtorm.

The latter was more agreeable to his enterpriſing ſpirit; and an attack was made on the morning of the 29th of June. He was repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and fifty men. He raiſed the ſiege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Dr. Ramſay, to whom the writer of this ſketch is indebted, for moſt of the facts herein contained, ſpeaking of the ſtate of affairs about this period, ſaid,—" truly diſtreſſing was the ſituation of the American army; when in the graſp of victory, to be obliged to expoſe themſelves to a hazardous aſſault, and afterwards to abandon the ſiege: when they were nearly maſters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity: after ſubduing the greateſt part of the force ſent againſt them, to be under the neceſſity of encountering ſtill greater reinforcements, when their remote ſituation precluded them from the hope of receiving a ſingle recruit. In this gloomy ſituation, there were not wanting peſons who adviſed gen. Greene to leave the ſtate, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and ſuggeſtions of this kind he nobly replied—'I will recover the country, or die in the attempt.' This diſtinguiſhed officer, whoſe genius was moſt vigorous in thoſe extremities, when feeble minds abandon themſelves to deſpair, adopted the only reſource now left him of avoiding an engagement, until the Britiſh force ſhould be divided."

Some ſkirmiſhes of no great moment, took place between detached parties of both armies in July and Auguſt. September the 9th, gen. Greene having aſſembled about 2,000 men, proceeded to attack the Britiſh, who, under the command of colonel Stewart, were poſted at Eutaw Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines; the firſt compoſed of Carolina militia, was commanned by generals Marian and Pickens, and colonel De Malmedy. The ſecond, which conſiſted of continental troops from North Garolina, Virginia and Maryland, was commanded by gen. Sumpter, lieut. colonel Campbell, and colonel Williams; lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and lieutenant colonel Henderſon, with the ſtate troops, covered the left. A corps de reſerve was formed of the cavalry, under lteutenant colonel Waſhington, and the Delaware troops under capt. Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with ſome advanced parties of the enemy, at about two or three miles a head of the main body. Theſe being cloſely purſued, were driven back—and the action ſoon became general. The militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely

ſupported by the ſecond line. In the hotteſt part of the engagement, general Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. "Nothing," ſays dr. Ramſay, "could ſurpaſs the intrepidity of both officers and men on this accaſion.—They ruſhed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a ſhower of muſquetry, with ſuch unſhaken reſolution, that they bore down all before them." The Britiſh were broken, cloſely purſued, and upwards of five hundred, of them taken priſoners—They however made a freſh ſtand, in a favourable poſition, in impenetrable ſhrubs and a picquetted garden. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, after having made every effort to diſlodge them, was wounded and taken priſoner. Four ſix pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavours to drive them form their ſtation being found impractible; the Americans retired, leaving a ſtrong picquet on the field of battle. Their loſs was about five hundred; that of the Britiſh upwards of eleven hundred. General Greene was honored by congreſs with a Britiſh ſtandard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement and ſucceſs, "for his wiſe deciſive, and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw ſprings, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a moſt ſignal victory."

In the evening of the ſucceeding day, colonel Stewart abandoned his poſt, and retreated towards Charleſton, leaving behind upwards of ſeventy of his wouned, and a thouſand ſtands of arms. He was purſued a conſiderable diſtance—but in vain.

The battle of Eutaw produced moſt ſignal conſequences in favor of America. The Britiſh, who had for ſuch a length of time lorded it abſolutely in South Carolina, were, ſhortly after that event, obliged to confine themſelves in Charleſton, whence they never ventured but to make predatory excurſions, with bodies of cavalry, which in general met with a very warm and very unwelcome reception.

During the relaxation that followed, a dangerous plot was formed, by ſome turbulent and mutinous perſons in the army, to deliver up their brave general to the Britiſh. This treaſonable deſign owed its riſe to the hardſhips, wants, & calamities of the ſoldiers, who were ill paid, ill clothed, and ill fed. The conſpirators did not exceed twelve in number: and a providential diſcovery defeated the project.

The ſurrender of lord Cornwallis, whoſe enterpriſing ſpirit had been by the Britiſh miniſtry expected to repair the loſſes, and wipe away the diſgrace, which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other generals, having convinced them of the impracticability of ſubjugating America, they diſcontinued offenſive operations in every quarter. From the beginning of the year

1782, it was currently reported, that Charleſton was ſpeedily to be evacuated : it was officially announced the 7th of Auguſt ; but did not take place until the 17th of Dec. The happy period at length arrived, when, by the virtue and bravery of her ſons, aided by the bounty of heav en, America compelled her invaders to recognize her independence. Then her armies quitted the tented fields, and retired to cultivate the arts of peace and happineſs.

Among the reſt, general Greene viſited his native country, where he proved himſelf a valuable citizen, as the Carolinas had witneſſed him a gallant officer. Diſſenſions and jealouſies had extended their deſtructive influence among the Rhode Iſlanders, whoſe animoſity had ariſen to ſuch a degree, as to threaten the moſt ſerious ill conſequences :—general Greene exerted himſelf to reſtore harmony and peace among them once more ; and was happily ſucceſsful.

In October, 1785, he ſailed to Georgia where he had a conſiderable eſtate, not far diſtant from Savanah. Here he paſſed away his time, occupied in his domeſtic concerns, until the hour of his mortality approached. Walking out one day in June 1786, he was overpowered by the extreme heat of the ſun, which brought on a diſorder that carried him off, a few days after, on the 19th of the ſame month.

When the melancholy account of his death arrived at Savannah, the people were ſtruck with the deepeſt ſorrow. All buſineſs was ſuſpended. The ſhops and ſtores throughout the town were ſhut : and the ſhipping in the harbour had their colours half maſted.

The body was brought to Savannah, and interred on the 20th. The funeral proceſſion was attended by the Cincinnati, militia, &c. &c.

Immediately after the interment of the corpſe, the members of the Cincinnati retired to the coffee-houſe in Savanah, and came to the following reſolution.

" That as a token of the high reſpect and veneration in which this ſociety hold the memory of their late illuſtrious brother, major general Greene, deceaſed, George Waſhington Greene, his eldeſt ſon, be admitted a member of this ſociety, to take his ſeat on his arriving at the age of eighteen years."

General Greene left behind him a wife, and five children, the eldeſt of whom was about eleven years old.

On Tueſday the 12th of Auguſt, the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, came to the following reſolution :

" *That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathaniel Greene, Eſq. at the ſeat of the federal government, with the following inſcription :—*

Sacred to the memory of NATHANIEL GREENE, Eſq. who departed this life, the 19th of June, 1786, late major-general in the ſervice of the United States, and commander of their army in the ſouthern department. The United States in Congreſs aſſembled, in honor of his patriotiſm, valor and ability, have erected THIS MONUMENT.

FROM THE COLUMBIAN CENTINEL.

"*OUR COUNTRY IS OUR THEME.*"

MIGHTY conſquences may follow the great changes in Europe, highly intereſting to America. If peace ſhould long continue, an event not improbable, as Great Britain and France now ſeem diſpoſed to form friendly and commercial arrangements, in order to promote mutual intereſt and harmony; and as it is moſt clearly for their intereſt, and the permenancy of their reſpective governments ſo to do, having both territory enough, and as many diſtant poſſeſſions as will be ſafe to hold; and being fully inſtructed in the calamities of war, by their bloody conflicts for ſo many ages; and knowing that by their harmony, and united influence, they can enſure the preſent peace, at the ſame time make the peace of other nations ſubſerve their extenſive manufactures—It is not impoſſible but Buonaparte may conceive the great idea of making his name glorious as it is immortal, by exerting his mighty power to perpetuate peace in Europe, and extend his influence for the ſame purpoſe to all nations, whereby he may eclipſe the moſt ſplended ſovereigns that ever exiſted, by acquiring the pre eminent appellation of *Friend to the World.* If peace continues in Europe, population will greatly increaſe; and augmented by the late diſcovery of means to diſarm the ſmall pox of its deſtructive rage (which circumſtance alone will greatly increaſe future population) that country may ſoon be filled with people far beyond any former period. The increaſing millions muſt have food and clothing; great part of them muſt be employed in manufacturing the raw materials of America, for *ſubſiſtence there*, or come *here to obtain ſubſiſtence.* The lands of that country cannot ſupport an increrſe of people, with *wool for clothing*, and for *exportation*; there is no ſubſtitute but *cotton*:—ſurpaſſing all other diviſions of the civilized world, the extenſive territory once included within the limits of the ſtate of Georgia, bounded on the Miſſiſſippi, and interſected with numerous navigable rivers, is undoubtedly the richeſt and moſt extenſive tract of country for the

eaſy culture of cotton on the globe. And the country weſt of it to a great extent, is alſo capable of an immenſe production of cotton, hemp, and flax. Theſe will in future time ſupply the manufactures of the northean ſtates, and alſo thoſe of Europe. With ſuch *natural funds* for proviſions and manufactures, and all the purpoſes of human life, as the United States contain, under the guidance of a wiſe government, and the ſmiles of a benign providence, the people will have nothing to fear from the *peace* or the *war* of Europe. But we ought to *look forward*, and be prepared for events that are coming, and *will come*. All the nations will aim to engroſs trade, and manufactures to the excluſion of ours. We muſt calculate for *independence on them*, and to make our arrangements *balance theirs*. There will probably be the greateſt exertions of political ſkill among the rulers of nations, to attain advantages in trade and manufactures, the world ever witneſſed. From appearances we may guess that Buonaparte will be *adroit* at this game.

But we need not fear their policy nor their arts, we have a continent to build on—the weſtern world is our own, with the ocean that flows round it. Let the powers of American genius and native ambition combine their ſtrength to perfect our government, purify our morals, enrich and beautify our country; then will our nation ſteadily riſe with the lapſe of time. No one can doubt its deſtiny to pre-eminence in the world.

But we muſt put far from us that *ſcurvy ſpirit* that will allow no merit in thoſe who may not accord with all the ſentiments in *our* political creed. By ſo doing the revolution is diſhonored, the ſplendor of independence diminiſhed, the number of our heroes and patriots leſſened, and the national ſcale of political weight and wiſdom is lightened in the view of ſurrounding nations. By thus *bewraying our common ſtock* of national honor, we excite the pity of friends and contempt of enemies. But the greateſt evils that reſult from it are, it weakens the incitements to patriotiſm—divides our councils—excites oppoſition to meaſures, from diſlike to men—prevents union in private as well as public concerns—operates as a check to eſtabliſhments and plans of general utility. It has in its national effects a *belittleing* tendency, a *deſtroying* aſpect, generating evil in every direction. The extinction of *this evil ſpirit*, would not only ſmooth the brow of politics and give placidity to the national countenance, but facilitate the adoption of meaſures to realize our national advanages herein mentioned.

AN AMERICAN.

It is with much pleaſure that we perceive in a paper hitherto diſtinguiſhed for a very oppoſite character, the commencement of a ſeries of eſſays on real American intereſts—the intereſts of

home mauufactures, arts, and internal induſtry—we are pleaſed moreover to find that paper become a convert to doctrines which were beheld with aſtoniſhment and diſguſt four years ago—when the alien law was diſcuſſed and in operation. The paper to which we allude is the Boſton Centinel, and it is not in the ſpirit of rebuke or reproach that we congratulate the editor of that paper on his diſcernment, even now, in perceiving that the reſources of this country open an immenſe and incalculable field for human induſtry at home, and for the ſupply of foreign commerce—that "the encreaſing millions of Europe might have food and clothing; that great part of them muſt be employed in manufacturing the raw materials of America, for *ſubſiſtence* there, or come *here to obtain ſubſiſtence.*" [Aurora.]

POETRY.

The diſtreſs which the inhabitants of Guinea *experience at the loſs of their children, which are ſtolen from them by the perſons employed in that barberous traffic, is, perhaps, more thoroughly felt then deſcribed. But, as it is a ſubject to which every perſon has not attended, the following is an attempt to repreſent the anguiſh of a mother, whoſe ſon and daughter were taken from her by a ſhip's crew belonging to a country where the* GOD of juſtice and mercy *is owned and worſhipped.*

HELP! Oh, help! thou GOD of Chriſtians!
Save a mother from deſpair.—
Cruel white men ſteal my children,
God of Chriſtians! hear my prayer.

From my arms with force they're rended,
Sailors drag them to the ſea—
Yonder ſhip at anchor riding,
Swift will carry them away.

There my ſon lies, pale and bleeding;
Faſt with thongs, his hands are bound,
See the tyrants, how they ſcourge him,
See his ſides a reeking wound.

See his little ſiſter by him,
Quaking, trembling, how ſhe lies!
Drops of blood her face beſprinkle—
Tears of anguiſh fill her eyes.

Now they tear her brother from her ;
  Down below the deck he's thrown ;
Stiff with beating—through fear ſilent,
  Save a ſingle, death-like groan.

Hear the little daughter begging,
  Take me white men for your own ;
Spare ! oh ſpare my darling brother !
  He's my mother's only ſon.

See upon the ſhore ſhe's raving :
  Down ſhe falls upon the ſands—
Now ſhe tears her fleſh with madneſs,
  Now ſhe prays with lifted hands.

I am young, and ſtrong, and hardy :
  He's a ſick and feeble boy—
Take me, whip me, chain me, ſtarve me,
  All my life I'll toil with joy.

Chriſtians, who's the GOD you worſhip ?
  Is he cruel, fierce,—or good ?
Does he take delight in mercy,
  Or in ſpilling human blood ?

Ah ! my poor diſtracted mother !
  Hear her ſcream upon the ſhore—
Down the ſavage Captain ſtruck her,
  Lifeleſs on the veſſel's floor.

Up his ſails he quickly hoiſted,
  To the ocean bent his way—
Head long plunged the raving mother
  From a high rock in the ſea.

SONNET TO LIBERTY.

O LIBERTY, tranſcendent and ſublime !
  Born on the mountain's ſolitary creſt ;
Nature thy nurſe—thy fire unconquered Time—
  Truth the pure inmate of thy glowing breaſt.

Oft doſt thou wander by the billowy deep,
  Scatt'ring the ſands that bind the level ſhore ;
Or, tow'ring, brave the deſolating roar,
  That bids the tyrant tempeſt laſh the ſleep.

'Tis thine, when ſanguinary demons low'r,
Amidſt the thick'ning hoſts to force thy way,
To quell the minions of oppreſſive pow'r,
And ſhame the flaunting nothings of a day.

Still ſhall the human mind thy name adore,
Till chaos reign, and worlds ſhall be no more.

SENSIBILITY.

NYMPH of the gliſt'ning eye! I know thee well;
The jarring world is not thy favour'd ſphere:
Thy ſilent tears alone thy ſorrows tell—
Thy ſighs reſponſive to the gale I hear.

Thou lov'ſt to weep, the giddy world will ſay,
By moſs-grown tow'rs, or by the lucid ſtream—
To melt and ſigh thy penſive ſoul away,
While muſing in the yellow moon-light beam.

When ſlander's ſecret whiſpers buz around,
Or rude reproof, or envy ſpeeds her dart,
Thy nerves ſtraight quiver with the mortal wound,
Bleeds ev'ry pore, and faints thy aching heart.

The tearful eye, the mantled cheek, are thine—
The pointed anguiſh throbbing at the heart—
The ſhrill of rapture, extaſy divine!
Which angels to their favour'd ſaints impart.

Then fly to ſolitude's deep, ruſtic ſhade,
Where zephyrs gently wave the roſeate bow'r;
The lute's ſoft ſwell, that dies along the glade,
May ſooth the ſadneſs of the midnight hour:

With fancy trip the mountain's ſhaggy brow,
And view the ſilver ocean's briny wave,
Which daſhes, reſtleſs, on the rocks below—
Or tend the ſea-nymph to her coral cave.

HASSAN—THE PERSIAN LOVER.

EACH Gale that dips its ſcented wing
In beds of dewey flowers,
Has lent the roſy hand of Spring
Sweet buds and balmy Showers,

To gem the Morning's golden hair,
And cool the Citron Grove
Where HASSAN fills the wanton air
With ſighs of hopeleſs love!

For ev'ry arromatic Shade
Has heard poor HASSAN ſigh,
While Stars that o'er Love's Alter play'd
Like Virgin Meteors die.

Since the falſe AZZA mocks my pain,
I'll quit the roſeate vale,
Where bluſhing almonds bloom in vain,
To check the whiſp'ring gale;

That bids me from cold beauty fly,
From grotts and moſſy dell,
Where ſullen ſtreams flow murm'ring by
The love-lorn HASSAN's cell!

They ſeem to chide this fond delay,
Which bids me linger here,
To chill the blooming ſweets of May
With Sorow's icy tear!

Some Mountain Cave I'll quickly ſeek,
That's wet with baneful dew;
Or trace ſome Deſart wild and bleak,
Where wild flow'rs never blew;

And when the dawn is overcaſt,
O'er dang'rous rocks I'll ſtray,
While horror howls in ev'ry blaſt,
And lightnings round me play!

Then chance the friendly hand of Death
May ſtop life's ebbing tide,
And Saints who caught my dying breath
Will weep where HASSAN died!

For Love's fierce pangs, which warms the breaſt,
E'en holy boſoms prove;
And hearts which ne'er thoſe pangs confeſt
Ne'er ſhar'd an Angel's love!

ODE ON HOPE.

O MIGHTY LORD! at whoſe command
The ligtnings force their way;
The echoing whirlwinds feel thy hand,
And harrow up the ſea.

Inſtant the billows bound amain
And glory in their height;
Forlorn, the ſailor turns with pain
His eyes upon the ſight.

The maſt into the deep to drive,
The reſtleſs winds aſſail;
Though Hope, ſweet maid, is ſtill alive,
Yet pride and ſpirits fail.

The ſailor on a foreign coaſt
By beating tempeſts driven,
His weary hands, a ſtranger loſt,
Liſts up in hope to Heaven.

Lord, ſo direct and form my mind,
That I may ne'er deſpair!
O let me always be reſign'd,
And hope for better cheer!

O grant, that if a parent die,
A friend or darling boy,
The tear of grief may wet my eye,
But leave me hope of joy.

Though Fortune ſhould ordain me poor,
And hardſhip's fate impoſe;
Yet give me hope, I aſk no more,
A ſolace to my woes!

Though the rich ſhould ſcorn my views,
Though barr'd from fame and praiſe,
The humble track I muſt perſue
Gives hope for better days.